

Chapter 6

Music, Politics, and Diplomacy in Hellenistic Teos

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I SHOULD EXPLAIN BEFORE SETTING OUT on this chapter that I am no sort of expert on the ecology and topography of the scholarly forest in which we shall be wandering. We shall be entangled in some quite complicated episodes in political history, and as a guide through the maze I shall be drawing almost exclusively on inscriptions.¹ Since the science of epigraphy is a highly complicated area for a classical scholar or a historian of ancient Greek music, I am bound to blunder off the track, though I hope I have taken enough precautions

¹ An extremely convenient and thorough collection of inscriptions has been compiled by the Packard Humanities Institute, and can be found on their fully searchable and publicly accessible website at <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions>. The website is organized by regions; and the pages for each region begin with a list of the principal published sources, which can then be selected and searched. In my notes the first source mentioned for each inscription can be accessed in that way (or of course in print or in some cases on CD; see below), and in most cases the on-line text is preceded by details of other publications of the same document. There are no translations or commentaries, but the website contains the full ancient Greek texts, usually with an indication of their dates. I have been able to locate there all except one of the inscriptions to which I refer in this chapter (for the exception, see n. 11 below). The following abbreviations are employed in this chapter: CIG (= A. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1828–77); FD (= *Fouilles de Delphes III: Épigraphie*, Paris 1909–); IG (= *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–); McCabe, Iasos (= D. F. McCabe, *Iasos Inscriptions: Texts and List*, Princeton, NJ 1991 [Packard Humanities Institute CD no. 6]); McCabe, Magnesia (= D. F. McCabe, *Magnesia Inscriptions: Texts and List*, Princeton, NJ 1991 [Packard Humanities Institute CD no. 6]); McCabe, Miletos (= D. F. McCabe, *Miletos Inscriptions: Texts and List*, Princeton, NJ 1984 [also on Packard Humanities Institute CD no. 6 (1991)]); McCabe, Teos (= D. F. McCabe, *Teos Inscriptions: Texts and List*, Princeton, NJ 1985 [also on Packard Humanities Institute CD no. 6 (1991)]); SEG (= *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–71/Amsterdam (1979–); Syll.³ (= W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1915–24).

to avert complete disaster. It seems to me, at any rate, that there are questions here that are worth exploring, and perhaps this chapter will help to open them up. Its purpose is to stand back from the intellectual constructions of ancient Greek political and musical theorists, and to put on display one scenario in which musical enterprises impinged directly on the world of practical politics.

There are two main characters in the story I am going to tell, and both are what we might call “corporate individuals.” The first is one of the associations of the people called the *technitai* of Dionysos, and the second is the ancient Greek city of Teos in Asia Minor. It will be worth spending some time introducing them, to put the essential background in place, though some readers will already be familiar with the relevant facts.

The associations of *technitai*, which in English we usually call “guilds,” were large and complex organizations of performing artists, mainly actors and musicians. There were four of them in the period we are considering, each covering its own geographical area. The first two were formed early in the third century, and were based in mainland Greece; they were the guild of the *technitai* of Athens and the guild of the *technitai* of the Isthmus and Nemea. A guild based in Egypt came rather later; and the last was the one we shall be focusing on here, the guild of the *technitai* of Ionia and the Hellespont, founded in about 235 BC. These guilds became remarkably influential in the social, political, economic, and religious life of the Hellenistic kingdoms, and their impact on current affairs was still felt in the time of the Roman empire.

In order to form an idea of what these organizations were, why they were invented, and what they were designed to do, we need to consider some general features of the situation around 300 BC. In the fourth century, and still more in the third, the cities, royal courts, and religious centers of the Greek world made ever-increasing demands on the services of musicians and other performers, mainly to provide music for the progressively more crowded calendar of public festivals. One result of this was that public performance became more and more reliant on professionals, sometimes even for choral singing, which had previously been for the most part the preserve of amateurs. This increasing professionalism was a response to pressures from various sources: the greater complexity and technical sophistication of the music itself; the growing tendency of cities and rulers, especially the monarchs and other potentates of the Hellenistic kingdoms, to seek prestige through public display; and—as a consequence of that—the sheer increase in the number of prominent festivals, which required musicians to be constantly on the move, as individuals or in small groups, all

over the Mediterranean area. It was clearly impossible for much of this to be done by amateur part-timers.

The continual movement of musicians from place to place created problems both for the musicians themselves and for the cities or other authorities who employed them. For the musicians, the main issue was personal security. The traveling life was dangerous, and visitors in a foreign city or state had good reasons for being uncertain about their standing in the eyes of the local law. In addition to the ordinary risks of shipwrecks, of meeting robbers or pirates, and so on, there was the possibility of being caught by the strange but widespread institution called *sylê*, according to which a person or his goods could be seized as a hostage or a substitute for debts owed by one of his fellow-citizens, or by the authorities in his city; or he could be made to pay or be punished in some other way for an offense that one of his fellow-citizens had caused. There might be anxieties of a more professional sort, too; for instance, about the rules governing a festival's competitions or the financial terms of the musician's employment.

On the employers' side the same factors were worrying, too, since a place that gained a bad reputation in these respects would find it difficult to attract the performers it needed. The employers were also troubled by performers failing to do what was asked of them—not turning up at all, arriving but finding some excuse for not performing, performing but not making any effort to do it well, and so on. Our most eloquent evidence about this in the period before the guilds were formed comes from a long inscription recording a decree of the cities of Euboea, around the beginning of the third century, that tried to put in place a most complex system of rules, conditions and penalties to govern the employment of performers anywhere on the island.² We can infer that the guilds had not yet been formed or were not yet fully effective from the fact that it does not refer to them; the performers are treated merely as individual members of a necessary but disorganized and thoroughly awkward profession.

The guilds were devised to address these problems, with the active encouragement of the cities, and above all of the authorities at the most important religious center in the Greek world, Delphi. From that time on, negotiations about the terms and conditions of musicians' employment and the rules of the festivals were conducted between the people in charge of the festival and the officials of the relevant guild; and so too, crucially, were negotiations dealing with the musicians' right to safe-conduct, *asphaleia*, their *asylia*, immunity from the seizure of

² IG XII.9 207 = A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed., rev. by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1988, 306–8.

their persons or property under the institution of *sylê*, and a good many other matters of that sort.³

In theory at least, the guilds were religious bodies, headed by a priest and dedicated to the service of Dionysos. They ran their own festivals and conducted their own ceremonies as well as providing performers for others. In practice they were organized in much the same way as the cities, with their own ranks of officials—treasurer, secretary, disciplinary officers, and the rest—and their own general assembly, the *koinon* of the *technitai*. In many respects they behaved very like autonomous political states, passing decrees, sending ambassadors to kings and cities and receiving embassies from them, granting honors to prominent individuals, even mediating in disputes between cities, and sometimes provoking them. They had no army or navy, of course, but they had other ways of making their influence felt, and they were serious players in the international politics of the period.

Let us turn now to the city of Teos. It stood on the coast of Asia Minor, due south of Klazomenai across the neck of the peninsula that projects toward Chios, with Ephesus not far away to the southeast. It had a moderate amount of land that could be cultivated, and it had two good harbors. Not much is known of its early history. It was founded in pre-classical times by colonists from the Greek mainland, and though we hear of one or two episodes involving Teos in the Classical period, it played no prominent part in international affairs; probably the best known fact about it is that the poet Anakreon was born there. It apparently made no attempt to exercise political or military power or to dominate others, and this may be part of what lies behind a story in Herodotos; he attributes to Thales the suggestion that it should be the base for a center of government shared by the Ionian cities,⁴ a plan that of course came to nothing. Teos took part in the largely commercial enterprise of founding the city of Naukratis in Egypt, and this probably points to its general character; it was an unambitious and moderately prosperous city dedicated principally to commerce and trade. But it was also dedicated, in a different sense, to the god Dionysos, the city's patron in much the same way as Athena was at Athens or Hera at Argos, and it was to Dionysos that the city's main festivals and civic ceremonies were devoted. This fact will be of some significance later in our discussion.

³ Such documents are common; I refer here to just two good examples: *IG II² 1132* = Pickard-Cambridge 1988 (see above, n. 2), 308, especially lines 1–39, and *FD III.1.351 [1]* = Pickard-Cambridge 1988 (see above, n. 2), 309–10, especially lines 30–39.

⁴ See Herodotos *Histories* 1.170.

Between the 230s, when our story begins, and 188 BC, Teos, like much of coastal Ionia, was caught uncomfortably between the spheres of influence of two ambitious powers, the Seleukid kingdom of Antiochos to the east and south and the steadily maturing domain of the Attalid dynasty at Pergamon to the north, which enjoyed the favor of Rome. There were occasional alarms from the direction of Makedonia, too, as Philip V of Makedonia tried from time to time to extend his power into the eastern and southern Aegean, encouraged the piratical adventurers of Crete, and made moves against the cities around the Hellespont. I have done my best to grasp the outlines of the chaotic comings and goings of this period, though I cannot be sure that I have understood them fully; fortunately, we shall not need to pursue many of their intricacies. All I need say for the present is that after being a tribute-paying subject of Pergamon for several decades from the 230s onward, Teos came under threat from Antiochos in the last five years of the third century and eventually fell into his hands, probably in 197 BC. But only a few years later, in 189 BC, the alliance between Eumenes II of Pergamon and Rome against Antiochos finally produced results, with the defeat of Antiochos at Magnesia; and by the treaty of Apameia, brokered by Rome in 188, Teos became an integral part of Eumenes' domain. The treaty gave the area a period of relative stability, and Teos remained a satellite of Pergamon for the fifty-five years between 188 and 133 BC, when the last Attalid king, Attalos III, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome.

The two main members of our *dramatis personae* now come together, since it was at Teos that the *technitai* of Ionia and the Hellespont made their home, at a date around 235 BC. Strabo, who records their movements, implies that the guild was based in Teos from the start;⁵ and the date is given by a decree of the Aetolians, conferring on it the same privileges of *asphaleia* and *asylia* that they had granted, forty years earlier, to the guild of the Isthmus and Nemea.⁶ On the likeliest reading of the record, the guild stayed in Teos during the political confusions of the next forty-five years and all through the long reign of Eumenes II of Pergamon, who died in 158 BC; and was probably still there well into the reign of his successor, Attalos II. In that case the guild was there for about a century, give or take a few years.

It is easy to guess (though a plausible guess is all we can achieve) why the *technitai* chose to make their headquarters in Teos. It was a moderately prosperous place that had no aspirations to political power, and would not cause

⁵ Strabo *Geography* 14.1.29.

⁶ IG IX.1², 1:175 (Delphoi).

them to be identified unnecessarily with any particular side in the quarrels of these turbulent times. It had a long tradition of devotion to their patron god Dionysos. More practically, it was centrally placed in their area of operations, with good communications by sea and many friends and contacts in faraway places. A more difficult question is why the city wanted them, since it could certainly have refused to allow them to settle there if it had chosen. Presumably the Teians thought that the arrangement would bring them some practical advantage, though of course they may have represented themselves as acting entirely out of respect for the god and devotion to the civilized arts. They may have hoped that these wandering musicians would make commercially useful connections abroad. There is also clear evidence in one of the documents that at some stage the guild agreed to make direct financial payments to the city, since the decree in question suspends their financial obligations for a period of five years.⁷ But none of this is secure enough for us to build on; we simply do not have enough evidence about the situation when the decision was taken.

About thirty years later, however, the mists begin to clear. We have a number of substantial and relevant inscriptions dating from the last years of the third century and the beginning of the second, and more again for the years after 188 BC. Thus, although we must set aside the question why the Teians chose to welcome the *technitai* in the first place, we can ask instead, with reasonable prospects of finding an answer, what advantages they found in the relationship once the guild's presence in the city had become well established. The relationship was not always comfortable, as we shall see, but they allowed it to go on for a considerable time, and I shall try to show that they had shrewd political reasons for doing so.

We need to consider first what the guild's presence would have meant in terms of sheer numbers of people. A treasury and a few bureaucrats and secretaries would have made little impact on the city; but an influx of hundreds of alien musicians and actors would have been quite another matter. It is hard to be sure about this, but we have some indications of what was involved. One inscription is a decree recording the city's gift of some land for the guild's use, and it seems to have been a substantial site.⁸ I shall say a little more about this inscription toward the end of the chapter. There is another document that may provide

⁷ McCabe, Teos 24 = SEG 2.580, SEG 4.617.

⁸ This is the inscription referred to in note 7 above. I shall give some reasons later for questioning the opinion expressed in SEG about its date (in the range 229–205 BC), and for preferring a date in the 180s.

a useful parallel. In one of a fascinating series of inscriptions about a person called Kraton, a prominent member of the guild in the second century, we find that he was responsible for setting up and partly financing a much smaller organization of musicians in Pergamon itself, and that as part of the operation he provided a building in which musicians could find places to live.⁹ We do not have to conclude that the parent organization in Teos needed living space for the whole, much larger mass of its members, but it does make that seem possible.

Another suggestive hint in our evidence relates to the procedures by which musicians were hired to perform at the various festivals. As far as we can tell, when the guilds were first formed, contracts for performers were still negotiated directly between the authorities in charge of the festivals and the individual musicians and actors, even when other matters were already being handled by the guilds. But this seems to have changed. At least two inscriptions from the late third century or the second, one of which records the decision of the *technitai* of Ionia and the Hellespont to provide performers for a festival in Iasos, speak of the performers explicitly as those designated by the guild.¹⁰ Now if it had become normal for the guild to nominate the people who would perform at the festivals, the musicians and actors would naturally have tried to make their homes as close as possible to the center of operations, the Head Office of the guild, so that they could make themselves available to be chosen and to receive their contracts. This makes very good sense from the point of view of the organizers of the festivals, too. It would be much easier to apply for performers to a single secretariat in a fixed place, and to negotiate the contracts with them, than to try to hunt down individual artists who might be about their business anywhere in the ancient Greek world. If that was the situation, Teos would have been fairly humming with members of this footloose and never entirely respectable profession.

A couple of other points about this can be gleaned from the remains of a letter from Eumenes II to the guild, probably written in the 170s, that survive in an inscription that, unfortunately, is very badly broken.¹¹ First, it shows that the guild held its own major festival in Teos, and that this attracted shiploads

⁹ The relevant inscription is McCabe, Teos 26 = Pickard-Cambridge 1988 (see above, n. 2), 315–16. The other main inscriptions referring to Kraton are McCabe, Teos 25 and 58; McCabe, Iasos 140; IG XL4 1036 and 1061 (Delos).

¹⁰ McCabe, Iasos 65 = Pickard-Cambridge 1988 (see above, n. 2), 316–17; see also L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 445–50.

¹¹ C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*, New Haven, CT 1934, 237–55, including detailed discussion. I have not been able to find this document on the Packard website (see above, n. 1).

of potentially unruly visitors; we might think of what happens when a town is invaded by football fans. There were difficulties, which Eumenes tries to resolve, about policing the crowds and maintaining public order, and about who was responsible for investigating incidents, conducting court cases, and imposing fines and other penalties when there had been trouble.

Second, it adds substance to some intriguing remarks in Strabo that indicate that during the second century serious and repeated disputes occurred between the city and the guild and eventually led to quite drastic consequences. Strabo writes of unrest amounting to *stasis*, which in the end provoked the expulsion of the *technitai* from the city; and he makes it clear that the Teians still reckoned that the *technitai* posed a real threat to their security even after their expulsion, when they tried to establish themselves in the nearby city of Myonessos.¹² None of this makes sense unless the number of *technitai* involved was really quite large; and in fact Strabo uses language that plainly implies that what the *technitai* did, first in Teos and later (after their abortive attempt to settle in Myonessos) in Lebedos, was to make their homes there. The same conclusion is suggested by the form of the guild's own decrees, which regularly speak of decisions made by the *koinon*, that is, the whole body of its members. This evidently means that decrees of this sort were ratified by a general assembly of the *technitai*, modeled on the pattern used in democratic cities, and that all the guild's members were entitled to be present and to vote on the proposals. Perhaps a good many of them actually did so.

If these conclusions point in the right direction, then the Teians, by allowing the *technitai* to make their base in the city, had entangled themselves in a large-scale, complex, and potentially problematic situation. They had accepted into their community not only another, partly independent organization, a parallel or divergent axis of power and influence, but also a shifting multitude of rootless individuals with no inherited loyalty to the city. It sounds like a recipe for trouble; yet the Teians allowed it to continue, as we have seen, for something like a hundred years. We must suppose that for quite a long time they felt that they were getting an adequate reward for their pains. What kinds of benefit, then, can the arrangement have brought them?

One point worth noticing is that except during the decade when they were subject to Antiochos, the presence of the *technitai* gave Teos a special relationship with the rulers of Pergamon, especially with Eumenes II after 188 BC. This was certainly useful; the Attalids had their own reasons for fostering the

¹² See note 5.

performing arts. We shall come to this later period in due course, but let us look first at the situation in the last years of the third century, when our inscriptional material begins to multiply. There are several useful documents dating from around 203 BC, when the influence of Pergamon, which had been dominant during the previous thirty years, was beginning to be threatened by the Seleukid king Antiochos III. In 203 BC he invaded Karia, and though he probably did not reach Teos till a few years later, his ambitions were already clear, and the city's position was becoming decidedly insecure.

All of the documents in this group are dated fairly securely to the years between 205 and 202 BC, and all of them record decrees by various authorities granting privileges to Teos, of which two are particularly important; the city is declared both inviolable, *asylos*, and sacred. There are decrees, for example, from the Aetolians, from the Amphiktyons at Delphoi, from the city of Delphoi itself, and from Allaria.¹³ If we take them at face value, these honorific documents look very impressive, but here we have to be extremely careful. Grants of privileges of similar sorts were dispensed in large numbers in this period; there are dozens of inscriptions recording them, most of them expressed in almost identical terms. A person coming to this material for the first time might easily get overexcited by the apparent importance of the honors given; but a little more reading in the documents shows that these high-sounding declarations were in fact very ordinary commonplaces of interstate relations in Hellenistic times, little more than routine pieces of diplomatic politeness, and we should not assume that they always meant a great deal in practice.

We should not automatically assume, on the other hand, that they invariably meant nothing at all, especially in cases where the privileges conferred have unusual features; and this turns out to be true of those awarded to Teos. One privilege granted is *asylia*, immunity from the seizure of persons or goods and from other financial impositions. Now this appears repeatedly in decrees; but it seems to have been granted rather sparingly to whole cities. More often the beneficiary is a single individual, or sometimes a religious precinct or temple. Second, these decrees declare the city of Teos to be sacred in its role as the property of Dionysos. This again is not unique, but it is certainly uncommon.¹⁴ A

¹³ McCabe, Teos 1 = CIG 3046 (Aetolians); FD 134 (Amphiktyons); McCabe, Teos 2 (Delphoi), Teos 3 (Allaria).

¹⁴ F. Piejko, "Antiochus III and Teos reconsidered," *Belleten* 212 (1937), 23, suggests that references to grants of *asylia* to cities in the inscriptions automatically imply that the city is also recognized as "sacred." But it is not clear whether he means this to apply in all cases, or only in cases like the one he is immediately concerned with (Teos in 197 BC), where we know from other relevant

comparison with one of the few similar cases I have found may be helpful. Here the place declared sacred is another city in Asia Minor, Magnesia on the river Meander. Once again we have an impressive collection of inscriptions recording privileges granted to it by communities around the Greek world, and they include the provision that Magnesia will be treated as sacred.¹⁵ But this case is clearly exceptional. For one thing, the decrees from the cities state explicitly that they are granting the privilege in conformity with an oracle from Delphoi. No such thing is mentioned in the case of Teos, and the oracle would certainly have been mentioned if it had pronounced on the matter. The favors granted to Teos must have a different basis. We should notice, however, that the reason for the oracle about Magnesia is known and is explained clearly in the inscriptions. What gave Magnesia a special claim was the fact that the goddess Artemis had appeared there in visible form—there was an *epiphaneia*—and the oracle was a response to reports of this divine apparition. There is no doubt, then, that what justified Magnesia's claim to be a sacred place was this very remarkable happening; and as far as I can see, this form of recognition was never given to a city just on the basis of general goodwill. It took something quite out of the ordinary.

Evidence of these kinds gives reasons for thinking that Teos was also being treated as a very special case, and we must clearly ask why. What we should be looking for is some other unusual piece of phrasing in the relevant inscriptions. For the most part, their language is just routine bureaucratic and honorific jargon, whose ornate battery of clauses and subclauses is highly formulaic; the same provisions in exactly the same words are repeated over and over again in the inscriptions, recombined to suit the occasion. Oral poetry does not have a monopoly on recycling set verbal formulae. This can make reading the inscriptions a tedious task, but it can also be useful, since when a completely new clause turns up in familiar surroundings, or a regular phrase has been significantly changed, the fact leaps to the eye, and we can be confident that it is not just an accident. This applies even more strongly when we are dealing with several decrees from different sources, all of which show the same peculiarity.

If we leave the “sacredness” clause on one side, most of the language of the Teos inscriptions comes straight from the bureaucrats’ book of routine formulae.

inscriptions that the most important agents conferring the grant (e.g., Antiochos, Delphoi), whose examples the others are following, included a recognition of sacredness explicitly in their decrees. If he means the second, he may well be right; but if he means the first, he offers no evidence to support his thesis, and I cannot agree.

¹⁵ See for instance McCabe, Magnesia 6, 14, 19, 22, 27, 28, 32, 49, 67; and there are more.

But one phrase does not; it appears in the Aetolian, Amphiktyonic, and Delphic decrees mentioned above, and in some of the Cretan ones we shall consider shortly. What it says is that the Teians are to be given their privileges “according to the provisions laid down for the *technitai* of Dionysos.” So far as I know, this form of words appears nowhere else among the many inscriptions of this general sort that we have. No other city is granted privileges in these terms. It seems a very reasonable conclusion that Teos was granted its privileges because it not only was a city whose chief god was Dionysos but also was the home of the *technitai* devoted to his service.

We turn now to the document that records a personal visit to Teos by Antiochos III after his acquisition of the city. This visit used to be dated, like the inscriptions we have just been discussing, to about 203 BC, but considerations put forward more recently by F. Piejko suggest that 197 BC is a good deal more likely.¹⁶ In this document the Teians say that Antiochos found them “completely exhausted” as a result of the continual wars and the financial burdens laid on them by Attalos of Pergamon; and he agreed to declare the city and its land sacred and inviolable, *asylos*, and free from financial demands. These hypothetical demands are presumably ones that might have been made by Antiochos himself, but he also declares them free of the impositions made previously by Attalos. He did all this, so the rhetoric of the inscription says, out of piety toward the city’s god, Dionysos, and also out of goodwill toward both the Teian people and the guild of the *technitai*. The two constituencies are linked together as though they were equal partners, equally deserving of Antiochos’ respect. He extends his favor “both to the people and to the *koinon* of the *technitai* of Dionysos,” and the esteem in which he holds the *technitai* is apparently part of his motive for releasing the city from financial burdens.

Now a point I have not yet explicitly mentioned is that the grant of privileges to a city was normally a response to a request from the city itself, and this is certainly true in the case of Teos, as the inscriptions I have cited make clear. If we take that fact together with the unusual phrasing of the Teian inscriptions, what it suggests is that in a situation of some difficulty, “exhausted” by wars and financial burdens and caught between the forces of several much stronger

¹⁶ McCabe, Teos 30; see also the studies of P. Hermann, “Antiochos der Grosse und Teos,” *Anadolu* 9 (1965), 29–159 (an editorially meticulous examination of the document, giving 204–203 BC as the probable date) and Piejko 1991 (see above, n. 14) (acknowledging Herrmann’s work with great respect, but arguing for the later date of 197 BC). The part of the document that is most relevant here (lines 10–21) is also transcribed in R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History*, Oxford 1983, 50.

powers, the Teians suddenly realized toward the end of the third century that they had a substantial, uncashed political asset on their hands, and made a request for special privileges, probably in the first instance to Delphoi, which they supported by pointing out that their city was the home of the *technitai* of Dionysos. This strategy seems to have impressed the authorities at Delphoi and elsewhere. Antiochos, a few years later, seems to have thought it would be politically prudent to follow their example, to the extent that he not only declared Teos sacred and inviolable, as the Greek cities had done, but freed the Teians from their financial obligations to Pergamon and imposed none on them himself.

There are interesting features of a different sort in the inscriptions recording decrees from the cities in Crete. Here the ambassadors who travel around making these requests are not only prominent citizens of Teos; they also include representatives of much more powerful interests. One of them, the Rhodian Hagesandros, is a spokesman for Antiochos, who had apparently convinced himself that it was good policy to promote the Teians' claim to special status. This suggests that these embassies took place after Antiochos' visit to Teos in 197 BC, but it does not prove it beyond doubt. Antiochos was clearly interested in this area already in 203 BC; perhaps he was trying to gain support from the Teians even before he actually arrived there. And that is not all: Hagesandros was accompanied by Perdikkas, who was a citizen of Teos but also an emissary of Philip V. Thus two very significant powers with ambitions in this part of the world, Antioch and Makedonia, were apparently prepared to take time off from more obviously serious matters to support this little piece of Teian diplomacy, and even to cooperate with one another in doing so, though in other respects their interests often conflicted.¹⁷ The Teians seem to have hit on an idea, odd though it may seem to us, that struck these big-league players as a perfectly plausible enterprise with which they were keen to be identified; and their efforts did not stop there. From 193 BC, only a few years later, we have an inscription recording a similar grant of privileges by the senate in Rome; and the person who negotiated the agreement on behalf of Teos was a representative of Antiochos.¹⁸

There are even more curious features, as it seems to me, in our records of a second diplomatic mission from Teos to Crete, which visited several of the same Cretan cities, perhaps all of them.¹⁹ This time, no representatives of other

¹⁷ For the complete collection of inscriptions relating to this embassy, see McCabe, Teos 4–15. On Perdikkas and Hagesandros, see for instance numbers 11 = CIG 3048 and 9 = CIG 3047, respectively.

¹⁸ McCabe, Teos 53 = CIG 3045.

¹⁹ The full series of surviving inscriptions from this episode is at McCabe, Teos 16–23.

powers seem to have been involved. There are uncertainties about the date of this episode; while earlier scholars apparently assumed that it came very soon after the first, McCabe (n. 17 above) suggests a range of between 170 and 140 BC. There are certainly good reasons for believing that there was a substantial gap between the first and second missions. The aim of the second, as is made clear in most of the surviving decrees, was to remind the Cretan cities of the earlier agreement, to make sure that it had been properly recorded and inscribed in some prominent place, and in general to freshen up relations between them and Teos. Hence most of these inscriptions refer back to the first mission; and in one of them, the decree of the city of Erannos,²⁰ the first agreement is said to have been made by “our forefathers” or “ancestors” (*progonoi*). This expression can hardly refer to people who set up a very recent arrangement. For this and other reasons, it seems more probable that since the most important figure in the first round of talks had been a representative of Antiochos, this second visit was designed to make sure that the agreement still held in the new situation that followed the Treaty of Apameia in 188. Teos had been detached from the Seleukid sphere of influence and was now firmly tied to Pergamon, and the Teians may well have been anxious to confirm that the change in their allegiance had not undermined the arrangements made under a different dispensation.

Let us assume that a date around 185 BC or perhaps rather later is correct. The new ambassadors, Herodotos and Menekles, went around as their predecessors had done before, and got the agreements they asked for. In some cases, in fact, they got more. As we can see from their decree, the citizens of Erannos also extended to the Teians citizenship of their *polis*, exemption from tax, and the right to own land and homes there. These courtesies are over and above those the Teians had requested. They come in a separate part of the decree, and in most of the other inscriptions in this group they do not appear at all. They may not have meant much in practice; but they are a free expression of this Cretan city’s goodwill. The ambassadors seem in fact to have made an excellent impression wherever they went. Most of the inscriptions make a point of complimenting them personally, giving them the status of *proxenoi*, inviting them to civic banquets, and complimenting them in various other ways; and it is interesting to note that no features of this sort appear in the records of the previous visit.

Two of these later inscriptions stand out from the rest, in two respects; they are those from the cities of Knossos and Priansos.²¹ First, though both of them

²⁰ McCabe, Teos 19.

²¹ McCabe, Teos 21*5 = CIG 3053 (Knossos); McCabe, Teos 23 = CIG 3056 (Priansos).

refer to Herodotos and Menekles as ambassadors of Teos, and some official business was evidently conducted, neither decree responds directly to any official request such as those to which the other cities' decrees reply. This is rather odd. It is unlikely to mean that the people of these cities received the request but rejected it, since they make it clear that they are very well disposed toward Teos. Perhaps it was because they had stayed in closer contact with the Teians than the other Cretan cities had done, and had already reaffirmed and ratified the earlier decree in the way that the Teians were seeking elsewhere.

Second, one of the ambassadors, Menekles, did something quite different from what one might expect in the course of routine diplomacy. He gave musical recitals, several of them in each of the two cities. The bulk of each inscription, in fact, is devoted to describing these performances and expressing the cities' gratitude for them. It is clear that we are dealing here with performances of a substantial sort, not just a bit of song-singing at symposia, for example. Menekles played the *kithara* and gave *epideixeis*, which in this context we might translate as "recitals," of pieces by Timotheos and Polyeidios. That is, he presented a program of famous two-hundred-year-old "classics" dating from the late fifth century and the fourth, in two different styles, as we know from a remark in the treatise *On Music* traditionally but falsely attributed to Plutarch, where the styles of these two composers are explicitly contrasted.²² He also performed pieces by Cretan composers of the past, presumably as a graceful compliment to his hosts. The inscription from Priantos adds more. Menekles, it says, went on to introduce a whole cycle of Cretan stories, tales of a legendary and heroic sort, in spoken prose as well as in verse, which he may have sung. It tells us also that he did not merely recite the contents of some well-known Cretan compilation of stories but made his own collection, "from many poets and chroniclers"; it sounds as if he had done some research of his own into the repertoire.

We may wonder why he did all this, and what it had to do with his diplomatic mission. It would be natural enough, perhaps, for an ambassador who happened to be a musical enthusiast to look at the local material, and even to do a little singing when he was off duty. But the evidence points to something much more elaborate and formalized than that, something more like full-scale public performances. On the other hand there is nothing to suggest that Menekles was a professional, one of the *technitai* themselves. When official documents mention such a person they usually identify him explicitly as a musician and refer to the branch of the art he practices; he will be described as "so-and-so

²² Pseudo-Plutarch *On Music* 1138b.

son of so-and-so, *kitharistês*” or “*aulêtês*,” or whatever he was. Neither of these inscriptions describes Menekles in those terms; and no more does any of the others. Nor do the Cretans congratulate him, as one might expect, on the brilliance of the skills he displayed in his performances. On the contrary, what they exclaim about is the “education” or “culture” that Menekles and the Teians in general possess; and the decree from Erannos proves what we would in any case assume, that Menekles was a Teian citizen. In fact the statement in the Knossos inscription, that he performed “well and as befits a man of culture,” more or less guarantees that he was not a professional, since the trade of a musician and the character of a “man of culture,” an *anêr pepaideumenos*, had been reckoned barely compatible with one another since the fourth century.²³

This may give us a useful clue about one aspect of the Teians’ political strategy. We should hold on to the fact that their main aims are likely to have been perfectly hardheaded and practical; their “cultural diplomacy,” if we may call it that, was no doubt undertaken with a shrewd eye to their commercial interests and especially the security of their trade routes. It is worth remembering that ships traveling between Teos and Egypt would most probably have passed through the gap between Crete and Rhodes, and both were notorious for their pirates. It made very good sense for the Teians to stay on good terms with the cities of Crete. But the means by which they chose to advance their interests are worth examining a little further.

Menekles was commended for his culture and education, and for the efforts he made to present the Cretans’ own culture to them in a civilized and edifying way. It is significant that when these doings were reported back to the Teians, they did not treat the communications from Knossos and Priansos lightly; they had them inscribed in the same public place as all the other messages from Crete, whose contents may well seem to be a good deal more politically important. It appears that what Menekles did at Knossos and Priansos was done in pursuit of Teian public policy just as much as what he and Herodotos did in the other cities. He had achieved successes that the civic authorities thought highly satisfactory, and worth recording along with the others on the official monument. Yet all he had done was to present himself and his fellow citizens to the people of Knossos and Priansos as persons of education, style, and sensibility.

This evidence makes it at least a plausible hypothesis that the Teians deliberately set out, as a matter of official public policy, to make the city appear to the world as a beacon of civilization and aesthetic culture. We might guess also that

²³ See for instance Aristotle *Politics* 8, 1340b–1341b.

one of the means by which they sought to gain this reputation was to try to make sure that they actually deserved it. In order to support that suggestion more firmly than we can from single episodes like the musical exploits of Menekles, what we need is first some evidence for the existence of something like an official “cultural policy” in Teos, and second some indication of what it was like. What we can use here are the records of the Teian system of education in this period, since as it happens we know a certain amount about it. I do not mean to exaggerate its merits as a fountain of wisdom and enlightenment, since it may well have been no such thing. It has become well known to modern specialists in educational history more because of the accidental preservation of inscriptions recording some of its details than because of any reputation for excellence that it may have had in ancient times. But it has some interesting features, and ones that are relevant to the issues I am trying to discuss.

The main document we have records quite elaborate provisions for the education of all Teian citizens’ children.²⁴ Girls as well as boys are to be taught to read and write by the *grammatodidaskaloi*, but girls are not mentioned again, and perhaps this was as far as their education went. The system was funded by a large donation made by a private individual to pay the teachers’ salaries. There is at least one significant point here that needs to be emphasized. Education is provided for all children of citizens; and we should certainly not assume that this degree of “universal education” was the norm in Greek cities of the Hellenistic period. On the contrary, the inscription gives the impression that it was something entirely new. Otherwise there would be little sense in the preliminary statement that the money is being given “in order that all the free children may be educated in the way worked out and explained to the people by Polythrous son of Onesimos.” The system had been thought up by Polythrous himself, and had to be “explained” to the *dêmos*; and this suggests that it was a new departure, and not a continuation of traditional practices or an assimilation of customs that were familiar in other cities.

The fact that the scheme was funded by a private donation, as was a rather similar venture in Miletos,²⁵ need not undermine the idea that it was intended to promote official policies of the city itself. The money was given to the city and the city administered it, and we may reasonably assume that the enterprise fit well into a publicly agreed ordering of financial priorities. As for when the system was put in place, it is impossible to be sure. Modern estimates of the date

²⁴ McCabe, Teos 41 = CIG 3059, Syll.³ 578.

²⁵ McCabe, Miletos 42 = Syll.³ 577.

vary between the later third century and some time in the second, and there is nothing in the provisions or, so the specialists assure us, in the lettering of the inscription that would settle the matter beyond doubt. But it seems obvious to me that it would have made much more sense shortly after 188 BC, in the relatively stable and culturally ambitious reign of Eumenes II, than in the troubled years at the end of the previous century. At that time, we may recall, the city was worn down by wars and external financial impositions, and it is hard to imagine that it would have diverted scarce resources to purposes that were not of immediate practical use.

When we look more closely at the details of the scheme, we discover that music, in various forms, was given a prominence that goes well beyond what we find elsewhere. There is much more of it in the Teian curriculum than in the Milesian one, for instance; and in Teos the music teachers are to be paid higher salaries than any of the others. Three details of the curriculum are worth mentioning. First, the musical education to be given to all free children of Teos, or at least the boys, clearly went further than the traditional kind of instruction in singing and playing the lyre. Something called *ta mousika*, though we do not know exactly what it was, occupied a separate and apparently major place in the program in the years after children had learned to play the lyre. Second, education in *ta mousika* continued even after the normal years of schooling, into the ephēbate, as no other nonathletic disciplines did. It was not just something for juveniles. The third point is particularly remarkable. Another inscription, one of a group recording the names of winners in various school competitions,²⁶ shows that they included contests in a pair of disciplines called *melographia* and *rhythmographia*, which look as if they mean the writing of melodies and rhythms. Nothing of these sorts appears in the records of other cities.

Let us pause to consider *melographia* and *rhythmographia* a little further. These words do not mean “melodic and rhythmic composition,” which are always *melopoiia* and *rhythmopoiia*; the prizes were not being awarded for efforts in the composition of original pieces of music. What these children seem to have been tested on was their competence in writing down melodies and rhythms as exercises in melodic and rhythmic dictation; that is, they were learning to set out in a written notation the tune or the rhythm of a piece of music that was played to them by the teacher. Music students nowadays still have to do things of that sort. But in the ancient Greek context, we may very well wonder why the children of ordinary citizens, not budding professionals, were being taught

²⁶ McCabe, Teos 82 = CIG 3088.

these tricky skills and these cumbersome and difficult notations, as the Greek notations unquestionably were. We have no evidence that anyone in this period, even professionals, regularly played music from a written score, though professionals sometimes kept written archives of pieces they had performed, so that they could go back and refresh their memories of them. We hear nothing, at any period, of the use of notations by nonprofessionals except for one purpose; and that was as an adjunct to the theoretical analysis of musical systems in the science of harmonics, with all its ferociously technical paraphernalia of *harmoniai* and *genê* and *tonoi*. It would be surprising if this formidable stuff was introduced to children in school, though a few treatises from the Roman imperial period seem to indicate that it was.²⁷ But the fact that instruction in these notational skills was part of the curriculum, even though we cannot be sure why it was thought appropriate,²⁸ shows beyond doubt that the scheme adopted by the Teians for their children's education called for instruction in musical skills at a surprisingly technical and sophisticated level.

We have come a long way from the *technitai*, but it will be obvious that within the frame of reference I have been sketching, these unusual educational provisions fit rather well alongside the Teians' willingness to let the guild make its home in the city. Both pieces of policy can be construed as elements in a deliberate and coherent strategy, designed to give the city a particular kind of cultural identity that distinguished it from others, and that could give it the right to claim exceptional status and particularly favorable treatment. The exploits of Menekles in Crete are offshoots of the same policy; and in the various inscriptions recording privileges granted by the authorities in other places, we have seen what I interpret as traces of the Teians' deliberate exploitation of their cultural image in the context of serious political and commercial diplomacy. Teos was

²⁷ Examples of essays in harmonic theory that seem to be designed as school textbooks include those by Bacchius and Gaudentius, printed in K. Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, Leipzig 1895, and again in L. Zanocelli, *La Manualistica Musicale Greca*, Milan 1990, and perhaps also the short texts known compendiously as the *Anonyma Bellermanniana* (see D. Najock, *Anonyma de Musica Scripta Bellermanniana*, Leipzig 1975).

²⁸ A competence in *melographia* and *rhythmographia* would have made it possible for a person to record items in a musician's repertoire in written form. Given the presence of the *technitai* in Teos, such skills may therefore have had a straightforward practical application, offering a few young citizens the chance of profitable employment as secretaries or assistants to professional musicians. But I must emphasize that this is only a hypothesis; when I suggested it at a seminar in the Music Department of the Ionian University in Kerkyra [Corfu], it was not greeted with unanimous enthusiasm.

not in a position to achieve prosperity and respect on the basis of military might, and this was its ingenious attempt to find a viable alternative.

Before drawing this discussion to a close, let us briefly consider one piece of evidence that clearly demonstrates the city's intention to consolidate its relations with the *technitai*. I have already mentioned it in passing.²⁹ This document records arrangements for the purchase, by the city, of a block of land that is to be given to the *technitai* for their use. A large amount of money is involved—6000 drachmas, to be precise. It used to be supposed, for fairly obvious reasons, that this transaction dates from the 230s, when the guild first arrived in Teos. But detailed arguments put forward by R. E. Allen suggest that a date in the 180s is much more likely; and I think he is right.³⁰ He draws attention, in particular, to the decision to take half of the money from a donation from the royal treasury, which came regularly to help with the general administration of the city; all that is made quite clear by the inscription. There is no evidence for the existence of this regular grant of money from any royal treasury before the reign of Eumenes II, and the history of the preceding period makes such an arrangement very unlikely; certainly under the Attalid administration before 197 BC, as we have seen, the city was subject to financial demands from its overlords, rather than receiving subsidies. I should like to add another point to the ones Allen makes. The other half of the money for the purchase is to come from a fund that had originally been intended to maintain the city's fortifications but had later been transferred to the different purpose of buying supplies of grain. People who know a bit about the finances of modern states or towns or businesses or universities will be amused to see that even in those days, money for certain enterprises had to be found by shuffling funds from one account to another, in this case twice. But neither of these pieces of imaginative bookkeeping fits well into the period of wars and financial difficulties before 197 BC, or into the turbulent years between then and the treaty of Apameia. They make good sense only in a time when fortifications are unnecessary and food supplies are plentiful; and that is true only of the period after 188 BC.

What I am suggesting, then, is that the gift of land to the *technitai*, the new school system with its extensive musical curriculum, and the second wave of embassies to the cities of Crete are all clustered in the 180s, and fit together as pieces of the same policy. Its general outlines had of course been settled much earlier, perhaps back in the 230s when the *technitai* first arrived, and certainly

²⁹ See notes 7 and 8.

³⁰ Allen 1983 (see above, n. 16), 53–55.

by 203 BC, when Teos was granted its privileges by Delphoi and other Greek cities. But it was in the years following the treaty of Apameia that it was properly consolidated.

The story has many twists and turns in the following half century. We have a rich dossier of inscriptions that illustrate the developing three-way relations between the *technitai*, the city of Teos, and the royal court at Pergamon, and the benefits they received from Pergamon must have done a good deal to persuade the city's authorities that their arrangement with the guild was worth preserving. Eumenes II, in Pergamon itself, was strongly supportive of the performing arts and had a large entourage of musicians at his court. It is possible that he had motives that went beyond his personal enjoyment of music and a monarch's normal liking for self-advertisement. This is a period in which schools of philosophy aspired to real influence in the world of practical politics. We know in particular that there was a school of Stoics in Pergamon, and the Stoics were particularly prominent in this enterprise; they had also inherited from Plato and Aristotle, and had developed further on their own account, ideas about the essential social role of music in generating social harmony and well-being. It was just at this time that the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon was writing his own major treatise on the subject, a work that became famous enough to be the major target, in the next century, for the criticisms of the waspish Epicurean opponent of such theories, Philodemos of Gadara, in his treatise *On Music*.³¹

It would be possible to tell a plausible story about the relation between these high-minded theories and the educational and cultural policies of Teos; and it is true that the ideas of the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoa would provide a very suitable background to the events recorded in our documents. But any steps we might take along that road would be entirely speculative and, if taken very seriously, would take us much too far from the realities of life and decision-making in a small and politically insignificant community, dependent for its survival on the goodwill of more powerful states and essential trading partners. It would be absurdly unrealistic to suggest that the Teians were motivated by a pure, missionary zeal to bring civilization, harmony, and refined culture to their citizens and the world at large. Their choices were much more probably based on hardheaded political and commercial calculation. My hypothesis is only that

³¹ See, e.g., A. Barker, "Diogenes of Babylon and Hellenistic musical theory," 353–70 and D. Delattre, "Vers une reconstruction de l'esthétique musicale de Philodème," 371–84, both in C. Auvray-Assayas and D. Delattre (eds.), *Cicéron et Philodème: La polémique en philosophie*, Paris 2001.

they perceived, perhaps for the first time in the difficult years around 203 BC, that a reputation for being champions of the arts, and especially music, might bring them real benefits, both in consolidating their own society and in their dealings with communities elsewhere. If the documents we have considered are a good guide, the strategy worked.

Or at least it worked for a time; but in the end, as the saying has it, the chickens came home to roost, as chickens will. Music may indeed be a wonderful thing, full of beauty and infused with the power to bring peace, concord, and civilization. But not all musicians are paragons of virtue. They are as mixed a bunch as any other group, and it seems all too likely that many of the *technitai* of Dionysos were less committed than the respectable citizens of Teos to the values of a stable society. Musicians and other performing artists can often be obstinately obsessed with their own peculiar enterprises and priorities, which may have little to do with civic harmony and prosperity. Perfect perpetual concord between the musicians and actors and the civic authorities would have been too much to expect, and there were bitter disputes that no one was able to resolve. Perhaps, apart from anything else, the special favors the *technitai* received from Eumenes of Pergamon eventually gave them too high an opinion of their own importance. But I shall not go back to the dismal catalogue, which I mentioned earlier, of quarrels between the city and the guild that arose later in the second century, of appeals by both sides to Pergamon, of temporary settlements imposed by royal decrees and threats of more drastic action in the future, of more quarrels culminating in disruptions so violent that Strabo describes them as *stasis*, what we would call anarchy, and finally the expulsion or flight of the *technitai* from the city. Years after that, the Teian*s seem still to have regarded the *technitai* as their deadly enemies. The moral of the story is clear. A city's reputation as the home of culture and the arts is a strong political card, and music is the queen of the arts; but cities require order and conformity, and music, unfortunately, requires musicians, who do not always take well to such constraints. The mixture is guaranteed to be explosive.

